Interview with Henry Dunlap

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HENRY DUNLAP

Interviewed by: Hans Tuch

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Q: I am interviewing Henry Dunlap at his home in Washington, DC on January 25, 1988. Henry Dunlap was born in Buffalo, New York in 1917. He attended Canisius College in Buffalo where he received his BS degree and the University of Buffalo where he received his bachelor of library science degree.

Henry Dunlap was in the Foreign Service serving in Germany, Ghana and Austria, and of course in Washington. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1977. Henry, good morning.

DUNLAP: Good morning,

Early Post War Days in Germany and 1951 Incorporation into State Department's HICOG

Q: How did you get into all of this, meaning of course getting into the Foreign Service and particularly getting into public diplomacy.

DUNLAP: Well I got into the Foreign Service sort of by, I guess, default you could say. You may remember that when the State Department took over military government, I along with many others was an employee of the Army serving in occupation business. I happened to

be librarian of the Office of Military Government in Berlin and Frankfurt. When the State Department took over the occupation business, they also took the people. And by so doing I went from being and Army Department employee to a State Department employee.

Then in — I think it was '51 — I was seduced from the library job into becoming Director of the American Houses in Germany where I worked from 1951 to 1954 at which time I left Germany.

Q: Before we get into the America House occupation, when you were with the military government and first transferred into the high commissioner's office, you were the archivist of the Allied High Commission?

DUNLAP: Yes, that's right.

Q: And you were located first in Berlin and then in Bonn.

DUNLAP: Well, first Berlin then my library was in Frankfurt. And then for a year I was both chief librarian and U.S. Archivist in Bonn and in Frankfurt. Then I moved to Bonn with the family and ended up as just U. S. Archivist.

Q: Now, the U. S. Archivist job, were these the Occupation and the High Commission archives or the Allied archives?

DUNLAP: No, this was the High Commission, the Allied General Secretariat which was on the Petersburg, in Bonn by Bad Godesberg.

Q: But it was the U. S. archives that you controlled or supervised located with the Allied High Commission?

DUNLAP: No, it's a little complicated. There were three archivists with the Allied High Commission. The senior one was a Frenchman, a Colonel Decaix. The British one was a lady, Doris Dumble. And Henry Dunlap was the American archivist. And actually though

we kept all the records, Colonel Decaix kept the important originals. Our main job really was the issuance every month of the Allied High Commission Gazette which came out in English, French and German.

Q: German also?

DUNLAP: Yeah.

1951: Becomes Director of Amerika Hauser in Germany

Q: Then in 1951 you took over the direction of the America House program. Could you just briefly say what that involved at that time?

DUNLAP: Well, the America House program at that time included 48 America Houses — which means, as you know, 48 big establishments — and 110 small establishments called German American libraries, Deutch-Amenkanische Bibliotheken. And they were all over West Germany, including Berlin. I believe we had a total of 700 German employees and something like 50 Americans.

Q: Tell me what at that time was the purpose of these America Houses.

DUNLAP: Well, in the very beginning the purpose was — I'm glad you asked that. In the very beginning the purpose was to bring to the German users of the facilities information really only about the United States, that we knew that they'd been denied since about 1933. And we thought our job was to provide, to fill in the gap.

After a few years of the program — and this was really, I think, before I took it over — instead of becoming a window to America it became a window to the West. We felt that the Germans had been denied knowledge of the whole free world. So it was broadened out to include the West. [It included] I think our most important thing in a way were our libraries

with our books and magazines and newspapers. But we had lectures, concerts, exhibits. We even were laughed at for teaching finger painting for children.

Q: In many of the cities of Germany the America House really became known as the community center because of a lack of any other facility to have cultural and community activities taking place before they were rebuilt.

DUNLAP: That's correct. For example, it was sort of funny. One of the many advantages was that in the very early days we had light and heat and other people didn't.

Q: Right.

DUNLAP: And we also had space and we had through the cooperation of the Army in particular our buildings were repaired, well maintained and looked after.

Q: Was this all part of the U.S. Government's reorientation and re-education program that was carried out by the U. S. Government and Germany, in the western — its occupation zone of Germany?

DUNLAP: Yes, also Austria. Although Austria was apparently different, it actually wasn't. But it looked different.

Q: Now, what did the direction of these American Houses from your point of view, from Bonn, what did that really entail?

DUNLAP: First of all, it entailed the acquisition and distribution of materials for the whole network, all the books, exhibits, anything that was used in the whole program we acquired and distributed. Policy direction as well, efforts to get all the American Houses to publish monthly programs. Among the things we provided were lecturers and musical performers. Mainly the central organization provided considerable direction, but mainly backup services.

Q: Backup services and policy direction.

DUNLAP: Right.

Q: These 48 American Houses and over 100 reading rooms, did that continue? Was there a curtailment of budget? How long did that sort of thing last?

DUNLAP: Well, there was a curtailment budget-wise. We had to cut the number of America Houses until I think long after I had left there were only six big ones. The German American libraries, the 110 or so, as far as I know most of them were either included in the local library of German origin or just disappeared.

Q: This was quite a bit after you.

DUNLAP: Oh, yeah.

Q: Who was your predecessor in running the America House?

DUNLAP: Mrs. Patricia Van Delden.

Q: And she I think, when you took over, was transferred to Washington.

DUNLAP: I think so, yeah.

Q: And your successor?

DUNLAP: B. Franklin Steiner.

Q: B. Franklin Steiner, right. Now, there are of course I think a lot of anecdotes connected —

DUNLAP: No, what about Joe Hodge?

Q: Oh, yes.

DUNLAP: He was first.

Q: Yes, that's right.

DUNLAP: Then Steiner.

Q: And Steiner was his deputy.

DUNLAP: Yes.

Q: Yes, that's right. And your deputy was Roger Ross, wasn't he?

DUNLAP: Right. I should only comment that, it's a negative one on my successor but it must be put on the record, that he proceeded to do with alacrity some of the things that we had resisted in order to preserve the program. And that's an upset.

Q: Now, when you were head of the America House program was there a good deal of support for you and your activities from, say, the High Commissioner's office and from the High Commissioner and from Washington?

DUNLAP: Oh, yes. I would say there was. We were able to spend money efficiently so that every year at the end of the budget year we'd be notified that we could have $100,000 to $200,000 for books because other people had not been able to spend it properly. And we usually did spend — we always spent it and we always spent it properly. Because we had maintained lists of books and equipment and things that we would need if we ever got the money. And we were ready to go.

Q: Who were the people who were the America House directors during that period?

The Personnel of the Amerika Hauser

DUNLAP: You mean specifically who they were?

Q: Well, were they foreign service officers? Or were they specialists in running programs in Germany?

DUNLAP: Well, this leads to a good point that I wanted to be sure to include. The America House network included a lot of former Kreis Resident Officers. And I think that you, Tom, could explain as well as I what they were. We looked on them in our day as the sort of eyes and ears of the occupation. They were stationed all over Germany in little towns, big cities, practically everywhere.

Q: You mean "kreis" which was the equivalent of county.

DUNLAP: Yeah.

Q: In the American occupied area.

DUNLAP: Yes. And when those positions were eliminated, many of the KROs came into the America House program and we found jobs for them. I think it was by and large a favorable development.

Q: Yes.

DUNLAP: Then there were others. There were foreign service types, some people that were hired in Germany itself, Americans as I think you yourself were. It was a complete mix of people of all kinds.

Q: Many of us learned really our job while doing the job.

DUNLAP: Right.

Q: I remember distinctly our America House director in Munich, a nice woman, who had her lecture program. And she wanted to emphasize the role of women in U. S. society. She had a woman lecturer and she plastered the whole city of Munich on these kiosks which were called Litwassaenlen and which had all kinds of announcements and advertisements for cultural activities throughout the city. She had a huge poster in which she advertised the lecture at the America House. And the title of the lecture was "The Position of Woman in Marriage." That became sort of a byword.

DUNLAP: She had some other ones. She had an anthropological lecture the title of which was "Adam wo bist Du?"

Q: "Adam where art thou?"Programming in Amerika Hauser

DUNLAP: Also she had very attractive monthly programs as you may remember. But in some of the programs we had some real problems. One of them wanted to celebrate Huckleberry Finn. So they showed a picture on the cover of Joe, the black man, eating a watermelon and slopping it all over everything. Certainly, this was well before there were any questions of civil rights. But we really raised hell about that particular illustration which was a famous classic drawing.

Q: Did the America House program in Germany suffer at all under the McCarthy aberration?

DUNLAP: I'm sorry you asked that. Of course, we did. You and I as you may remember personally suffered. It was for us, of course, a very sad experience. But I don't think that I should say — I don't think the program suffered. But we certainly took a mauling. It was a nasty experience.

Q: Did we have any problems with putting books in the library? Were they censured from Washington? Were they in anyway criticized by Washington what we had in our collections?

DUNLAP: They were criticized by McCarthy's people. But I think of all the nonsense that McCarthy's committee published, we maybe had four books which were totally harmless in content by people who McCarthy said were communists.

Q: Who were they as an example?

DUNLAP: Oh, gosh. One was a woman who wrote a book called Four Cornerstones of Peace, Utley, Frieda Utley.

Q: Frieda Utley, yes.

DUNLAP: And while she could have been a socialist, she certainly wasn't, I don't think, a communist.

Q: I remember they also criticized Dashiell Hammett's Thin Man and the Maltese Falcon that being a good example of having communist literature.

DUNLAP: Yes, because the claim was that Mr. Hammett was a communist. I incidentally have never known whether he was or wasn't.

Q: The whole America House operation being the size that it was must have been managerially also a very complicated, huge operation, just the number of books that were ordered for the America House and distributed. How was this managed by you?

DUNLAP: Well, it was a big job. As I said, we had probably 700 employees. That alone is a problem. But we were very fortunate. Because by and large they were all first class people. We actually organized what we called a central distribution center which was in Frankfurt run by a librarian, Garnetta Kramer, who was a very good organizer. We ordered

all our books, posters and things of that type. They came to the center. The books were catalogued and labeled and distributed to all the houses. Actually, it was a very efficient, centrally run operation. And what a terrible amount of work. We had a big photo lab in Frankfurt. You can laugh. I'm not going to tell that story. And our exhibit central operation was in Bonn. And it too was just as efficient. And our speakers and artists office was headquartered in Bonn.

Q: I remember the number of books were not really counted in numbers but in tons of books.

DUNLAP: That's right.

Q: Were handled by the distribution center?

DUNLAP: I think it was hard to do. Because as our budget was prepared, our own, the 700 American salaries, the American and other salaries were sort of separate. But I think it was about $3.5 million a year for everything which really was a very small expenditure when you think of what was being spent on other things and also much of this was ultimately paid for by the Germans themselves. They were cost-of-occupation.

Q: Right. Just briefly could you tell me something about the — you had a central distribution center for your libraries, for your handling books, posters, photo lab, but you also had, you mentioned a speakers and artists bureau. What did they do?

DUNLAP: They located singers, performers, speakers, lecturers.

Q: In Germany?

DUNLAP: No, no. Anywhere. And we often made up teams or pairs. One time we had a religious seminar. We had a rabbi, a Protestant minister and a Catholic priest.

Q: I remember Father White.

DUNLAP: Father White who when one person asked him a question about what university he went to, said, “I am a university”. But it was a very humorous point. I remember in that case the Protestant minister had to go back to the States. And one of our American House directors who was a minister took his place.

Q: Flint?

DUNLAP: James Flint, yes. We had some rather famous singers as you well know. And we had some interesting piano players for concert, for operettas and things.

Q: I remember Leon Fleischer sort of made his first appearance in public.

DUNLAP: Mrs. Dunlap and I were discussing recently it may have been after my day, but I think the famous pianist who just had his 25th concert. He was born in Nuremberg.

Q: He was born in Nuremberg.

DUNLAP: Didn't he play for us?

Q: No, he was too young. He was hardly born.

DUNLAP: We had Leontyne Price sing for us.

Q: Right.

DUNLAP: Someone who has sung in Porgy and Bess, I remember, a woman. We had a lot of people, a lot of opera singers. And all they got from us were scrapbooks.

Q: Henry, while you were head of the American House program in the early '50s in Germany were there any interesting developments, any interesting stories which would add to our recitation here today?

DUNLAP: At one stage Mickey Boerner who as you know was our boss. He was PAO for Germany.

Q: Public Affairs Officer.

DUNLAP: He called me in and said that due to budget restrictions I had to eliminate two big America Houses. And I said, “Well, that's going to be hard. But I'll see what I can do.” So I went back and got the staff together and we studied and considered whether we could turn them over to the Germans or what we could do. Then I went back to Mickey and said, “You know, Mickey we've decided that we'll eliminate,” I think it was, “Nuremberg and one other major large establishment.” And Mickey said, “My God, Henry, you can't do that. Nuremberg is the first America House I ever gave a speech in.” Nevertheless, we had to shut them down. This was probably the most unhappy part of my job which normally was a very joyful one. The unhappy part of having to eliminate established functioning efficient operations.

Legacy of Amerika Hauser Programs on Germans

One other comment I would like to make which has nothing to do with the particular question. Although it's not measurable there's no question in my mind but what the American House program in Germany had a considerable influence on a considerable number of Germans. And I mean by influence a good influence to acquaint them with democracy and the like. But I think one of the great effects of the program which is largely ignored is the fact that the people who worked for us, the Germans had a profound effect on the society when they left us and returned.

I remember, I think it was in the late '50s, the managing editors of three or four of Germany's leading newspapers, West Germany, were people who had worked for our press division which I think is very significant. And not only were they important positions, they behaved in a wonderfully efficient manner.

Q: Let me just add to this to this day the editor and chief of the Frankfurter Rundschau which is one of the four or five major newspapers in the Federal Republic was one of our German colleagues in our press division. And he talks about it all the time. Just for the record, Mickey Boerner was the public affairs officer.

DUNLAP: And his name is really Alfred V. Boerner. He died last year.

Q: Yes. The first director of public affairs of USIS in Germany under the State Department's administration after OMGUS was replaced by the High Commissioner's office, I think was briefly a man by the name of Ralph Nicholson who was the editor of the Louisville Courier Journal.

DUNLAP: That's totally unknown to me.

Q: And his deputy was Shepard Stone.

DUNLAP: Yes, I know Shep.

Q: And then Shepard Stone —

DUNLAP: Succeeded him.

Q: — succeeded him after a very few months.

DUNLAP: Oh.

Q: And Shep Stone was the public affairs director until Mickey Boerner became the public affairs officer.

DUNLAP: Shep Stone was PAO when I took over the America House program and I was brought to his attention by his general manager, Dick Brown.

Q: Dick Brown was his general manager. And I think Jim Hoffnagle succeeded Dick Brown as the general manager.

DUNLAP: Yes. Which is like the comptroller position in a financial company.

Q: Right, right. Mickey Boerner was sort of a colorful person. He had been in Germany even under OMGUS days. And he had a three times a week, I believe, radio commentary.

DUNLAP: “Guten Abend”.

Q: Which he always introduced with “Guten Abend” — Good evening. So he became “Mr. Guten Abend.”

DUNLAP: Yes.

Q: And he was a relatively small man, short person, as I am. And there is this wonderful story about Mickey Boerner which I'm just going to recite for the record. John Slocum was the press attach#, I believe, in Bonn. And one day Mickey Boerner called his staff together and asked them to do something. I don't remember what it was. And whatever the thing was that he asked them to do did not get done. So about four days later the deputy public affairs officer called the staff together and said, “You know, this is terrible. You didn't follow Mickey's orders. What do you think Mickey would do if he knew that this had not been done?” Where upon John Slocum came up and said, “Well, the same thing that Mickey Boerner does everyday anyway”. “What's that?” “Walk back and forth underneath his desk.”

Well, let's leave Germany for a minute. I know that you came back to Washington after your tour of duty in Bonn and took over the Bibliographic Division of what at that time was called the Information Center Service (ICS), which was the division that selected the books that were going to be used by the America House or their equivalents in other parts of the world for them to choose to stock their libraries, right?

DUNLAP: Right.

1957: Dunlap Becomes PAO - Ghana

Q: Now, after your tour of duty in Washington you went to Ghana as public affairs officer. And I think this is a very interesting period because we really expanded our activities during the late 1950s and early 1960s to other parts of the world, and especially to the developing world. And in Africa you were really one of the first to run a major program on that continent in what at that time, and, of course, still is a very important country. Would you tell us a little bit about your activities in Accra during the year, let's see, that was in 19 —

DUNLAP: 1957

Q: '57 to '59.

DUNLAP: Right.

Q: You were the head of the USIS operation?

DUNLAP: I was the public affairs officer for Ghana.

Q: Right.

DUNLAP: Well, first of all, it was a very interesting assignment. And the problems, you not only had the problems you had in one could say in so-called advanced states like Germany or France or Italy, but you had unique tropical problems, humidity, dust, difficulty in finding qualified employees only because they by and large didn't exist. Ghana did have the benefit of very amicable colonization by the British. And the British colonial officials without exception, the ones I knew there, were more proud of Ghana, or as it had been earlier the Gold Coast, than the local inhabitants themselves. Ghana had just become

independent when I went there and later was a prime mover in the Organization of African States and things like that.

We had a library, a good one, which was very well used. I remember the first ambassador who was appointed by the government of Ghana to go I've forgotten where, came to visit me, I happened to know him, and asked me if I could arrange to train his daughter who was going with him as his secretary to save money. So we brought her in and my receptionist and my staff trained her which I think was very helpful.

Progression of Nkrumah's Government into Totalitarianism

When the Organization for African Unity had its first meeting in Accra, we lent them mimeograph machines, paper, typewriters in order to conduct the meeting properly. Of course, the U.S. was lambasted in the course of the meeting quite frequently. Nevertheless, we helped them do this. We helped new newspapers that were established. My information officer prepared a style handbook for them. We were in it sort of at the ground floor as it were and were very unhappy to see the later developments leading to dictatorship which Mr. Nkrumah did become.

Q: Was he already at that time the head of state?

DUNLAP: Yes.

Q: But his real totalitarianism came subsequently?

DUNLAP: It didn't take long. In fact, we saw it and we wrote a paper — again, my information officer, wrote a paper, quite a long one, which we sent into Washington which I think by and large was ignored. But a funny thing triggered the writing of the paper. Nkrumah had his mother declared a saint publicly. And we decided then that this was the beginning of the end. It probably was largely the fault of the U. S. in a sense that we never really took him to heart and tried to be really helpful. He turned to a British leftist former

member of Parliament whose name escapes me at the moment who became his mentor and hatchet man and just was terrible.

Q: Your activities, your USIS activities in Ghana as you just explained, were really in part almost like an aid program, right?

DUNLAP: Yes.

Importance of USIS Newspaper in Ghana

Q: Instead of giving technical or monetary aid, we gave them — what? Psychological, helped them with their psychological programs and their press?

DUNLAP: Well, a little bit. But we also had a newspaper. We published a newspaper. And we distributed pamphlets and things of that type. For example, if sometimes the newspaper, which was a monthly, was delayed a day or two because it was printed on the local newspaper press and didn't get done in time, the policemen at the roundabouts, circles, would yell at me when I went by. They'd say, “Where's the paper? Didn't get the paper today.” And people in the agency later on said the paper was used to wrap fish in which was a real canard because we had 60,000 copies in Ghana. And it was the only English language document that every student in a secondary school in Ghana had, which was quite important for us.

Q: How was your overall program in Ghana organized? Did you have something like a country plan?

DUNLAP: Oh, yes. We had a country plan, you know, the regular type.

Other USIS Programming in Ghana

Q: Well, explain for a second because the listener or reader will not necessarily know what that means.

DUNLAP: Well, it was a document which showed what your objectives were in the country, your psychological objectives, and how you set out to accomplish it, roughly speaking. And we had an information officer. We had a cultural affairs officer. We didn't get into specialization as we had in Germany. The information officer handled films. And instead of showing films in an auditorium, we often showed them out at night under a banyan tree. It was interesting because every time we showed films in the provinces, the people watching the film would keep running around the screen to see if the people were really there. I'm not ridiculing the people. It was quite an experience.

And there were other things. I had a Polaroid camera. And I had to be very careful to get permission to take pictures because Africans, as well as other people, feel that if you take a picture you take something away from them. And, of course, you do. You take their image.

We had a good exchange program. One of our best exchange people was a policeman. He later got his doctorate. And he's now teaching; he went back to Ghana, but after a couple of revolutions I think he returned to the U. S. and is teaching somewhere.

We had good relationships with the school system, the private as well as the public school system.

Q: Your exchange program dealt mostly at the university level.

DUNLAP: Yes, we had, oh, it was microscopic in size, only five annual scholarships. And we had what were then called AMSPECS, American Specialists came there.

Q: To teach or to lecture.

Ford Foundation Folly

DUNLAP: I remember one time the way things can go wrong. We had a need in the local secondary school, which was called I think Achimota, they needed space for boarding and there wasn't any.

So the Ford Foundation had sent two people out traveling around looking for some kind of a grant to be helpful, a Mr. Fox and Mr. Wolfe. And my CAO and I advised Fox and Wolfe very strenuously to give a $50,000 grant to this secondary school and that would build them a dorm. They could handle the teaching but they had no place to put the kids overnight.

So they listened. And they ended up giving a grant on western cooking to the university college of Ghana which, of course, was totally asinine. And they also spent $200,000 doing it. But in most cases, private organizations, foundations, as well as our government did things that were really truly helpful. I couldn't resist digging Fox and Wolfe because they didn't even know what they were doing.

Q: When you wrote your country plan and you delineated your objectives, how was this exercise coordinated with the Embassy, with the total overall U.S. policy as related to Ghana?

DUNLAP: Well, as I remember there was a country paper for Ghana which is like a country plan for USIS. The country paper was for the Embassy, for the mission. And we talked. When we prepared the country plan we let the Embassy look it over. And we never had any particular problem. The ambassador sometimes didn't understand some sort of PR type thing. But we never had any real difficulty. And I'd say we got along rather well together.

Q: For the record, who was the ambassador during that time?

DUNLAP: Our ambassador was Wilson Flake.

Q: Who were your immediate colleagues in USIS, your information officer?

DUNLAP: Howard Kirschwein.

Q: And your cultural affairs officer?

DUNLAP: David Stratmon.

Q: This was sort of your team, right?

DUNLAP: Right.

Q: Did the Voice of America broadcast to Africa in those days?

DUNLAP: Yes, but at that particular time the reception was not very good. They were always sending out technicians to listen to it. And it was amazing. They would listen to it with metering devices and tell me how strong the signal was. And I would say, “Yes, but you can't understand the words.” This was improved somewhat with the construction of the relay station at Monrovia later. But that still wasn't as good as we had hoped it would be. As you know, I was connected with the Voice also broadcasting to Africa.

Q: Any other interesting observations about the tour of duty in Ghana?

Soviet Mistakes in Aiding Ghana

DUNLAP: The thing that was very interesting to me was we made a lot of mistakes in our programs all over the world, I don't mean just USIA but AID and the Embassy. But when I was in Ghana the Russians gave the people of Guinea a huge shipment of farm tractors and they were never used because they were equipped with automatic heaters which couldn't be turned off. So they were run once and when the driver melted that was the end of that.

Another great gift the Soviets gave the Guineans, they built, I think they called it a radio of the revolution. They built a transmitter on this mountain outside of Conakry and it was a megawatt, terrifically powerful. Unfortunately, the mountain was iron ore and the signal went out of the antenna and right into the ground. So they just made me feel good that other people can make errors.

Q: Let's talk for just a minute about your service as director of the Information Center Service. When was that?

DUNLAP: Oh, dear. '68 to '70.

Q: After you came back from Vienna, right?

DUNLAP: Well, first I was head of the bibliographic division.

Q: That was in the '50s.

DUNLAP: Yes. I can check the dates. The important thing only about that, you mentioned earlier book selection.

Q: Well, first you have to just kind of delineate what the Information Center Service included.

DUNLAP: Well, it included books, support for the libraries, books, exhibits, English teaching. We had a big English teaching operation.

Q: Music?

DUNLAP: Music. Magazines, periodicals, newspapers.

Q: Book translation.

DUNLAP: Book translation. In general, it was the backup operation that provided the materials of all kinds.

Q: Excluding, of course, films.

DUNLAP: Yes, we didn't have films. But the main problem there, one that we'd had perpetually, from the very beginning our book selection policy had never been what it should have been which was to decide on a book whether to use it or not on what it says. Instead we got off on this track that if the authors were communist or to joke, fellow traveler, whatever the hell a fellow traveler is, that you wouldn't use it. We tried, we fought manfully—

The problem of being forbidden to use books by communist authors, the first problem was who was a communist. And the second, as I've alluded to, isn't it more important what a book said than who wrote it. Because couldn't a bad person write a good book? Well, we never got anywhere with that argumentation. Forgetting for the moment about politics of the author, I felt then and I feel now that in some way an evaluation should be done of the content of any book we spend taxpayer's money on to send to people overseas. I understand that this is no longer done, that any library anywhere in the world can order any book and they'll get it. I think this is asinine and ridiculous and very expensive.

Q: Well, just for a moment to identify the period that you're talking about when you were making your comment just now because that's important. The period when you were director of the Information Center Service was at the end of the '60s, right?

DUNLAP: Right.

1968: Dunlap Returns from Vienna; Becomes Executive Assistant to USIA Director and Deputy Director

Q: You came back from Vienna in '68.

DUNLAP: To '71 or '72.

Q: And then you became—

DUNLAP: Executive Assistant to the Deputy Director and Director of USIA.

Q: And what did that particular duty involve?

DUNLAP: Doing all the footwork.

Q: Who were the — let's identify.

DUNLAP: The Deputy Director was Eugene Kopp and the Agency Director was Jim Keogh.

Q: But wasn't for a time Henry Loomis Deputy Director? But you were not his special assistant?

DUNLAP: Yes, I was.

Q: Oh, okay.

DUNLAP: It was Loomis first and then Kopp, but always Keogh.

Q: Keogh was the Director.

DUNLAP: No, not always Keogh.

Q: Shakespeare.

DUNLAP: Frank Shakespeare. It was Loomis and Shakespeare first and then Kopp and Keogh at the end.

Q: Right. Because there was a change of administrations. In 1972 I think Keogh took over the Agency.

DUNLAP: Right, right.

Q: When President Nixon was reelected for his second tour. And then Eugene Kopp was the Deputy and Jim Keogh was the Director. And you were their executive assistants.

DUNLAP: Right.

Differences Between Shakespeare And Keogh: Loomis And Kopp

Q: Do you care to comment about the difference between those two administrations and how it worked, your relationship with the two principals?

DUNLAP: The relationships were all right in both instances. I'm trying to think of the differences. The differences are only differences of personality. Henry Loomis and Gene Kopp, were good friends by the way, are just totally different people. Henry Loomis, who is a good friend of mine, acts frequently and quickly on instinct and he's usually right. Gene Kopp, being a lawyer I suppose, was a little more cautious and conservative.

Q: Deliberate.

DUNLAP: Yes. Shakespeare was a little bit — flamboyant is not the word. But he was a little bit colorful. Jim Keogh, just as fine a person, was a very quiet, sort of sedate person, but a very knowledgeable and very able one. Shakespeare, was very strongly anti-communist. And he was properly so, but in my opinion very often for the wrong reason. I think it's a good characterization, probably true of a lot of people.

Included in my duties I was Secretary of the Agency Executive Committee which was rather interesting because it was a high level committee and you were at the very top

operation of the Agency and short of instructions got out and was much more complicated than one would think in an agency devoted to communication.

Q: What was the concept at that time as far as the people who ran the agency about what public diplomacy should do, how it should operate?

DUNLAP: I think under Shakespeare the stress was very much on anti-communism which I believe historically that stress was lessened under Keogh. Under Keogh's successor, Reinehart, I think that anti-communism was a little bit lessened. But ultimately under the current director, as I understand it, the stress on anti-communism is back in full force. And I must say I have no argument with this. I've always felt that almost everything the Agency has ever done has been anti-communist. You didn't have to necessarily bay to the moon that you were doing this. Put another way, any expression of the truth about the United States' society and customs and things is in a sense anti-communist, despite Mr. Gorbachev.

Agency's Objectives Seen as a Mix of Long and Short Range

Q: Were we trying to achieve our objectives more on the — on the immediate basis; were we interested in short range successes or were we putting our emphasis on long term exchanges and other types of programs which would create an understanding of our society rather than just of our immediate goals?

DUNLAP: Well, as long as the exchange program was nominally under the Department of State, although we handled it, I don't think we worried too much, now this is my own view, about the long range goals. Because it was something we had to do but it wasn't ours. But I do think what I've heard from people is that after this was put into the Agency more attention is being paid to this. You would know better than I, Tom.

Q: Yes, I'm thinking also in terms of even during that period when the exchange program was still in the Department's hands, we did have books, English teaching exhibits

on one hand, and we had press operations, films, television on the other, thinking in terms of trying to produce an understanding abroad of our immediate policies, of the administration's policies, instead of obtaining an understanding for the American society, for democracy as such. Was there a diversity of views on this? Or did the Administration pursue one or in both directions at the same time?

DUNLAP: I think there was a mix. There were people who thought our purpose was one or the other of the two you stated. But I think regardless of how people felt about it, I think it ended up being a mix. For example, the library is not really the place to achieve short term goals. But it is for long term goals. And as far as I know the libraries continue today to be universally popular and successful.

Agency Handling Of Vietnam War And Watergate

Q: How did the Agency handle, and you were at the top level of the Agency at the time, how did the Agency handle the whole Watergate episode in the early '70s?

DUNLAP: Well, in the beginning, this is my recollection of it, I think the Agency was terribly cautious about providing information about it. I think because initially I think the Agency had the same shock that our society had that this thing had happened. So I think for maybe a couple of months, Agency people, I may have been one of them, felt that, God, this can't be right. There's something funny going on here. But I think as soon as it became clear that this terrible thing had happened and as a matter of fact things generated by it were continuing to happen, I would feel that the Agency handled it in a straightforward sort of honest fashion. I may be wrong. I'm not sure.

Q: Of course, the Vietnam War was still very much going on at that time.

DUNLAP: Yes.

Q: Was the handling of the Vietnam War, the reporting of our policies and our activities to the world, was that a matter of controversy within the Agency?

DUNLAP: What time frame are you talking about?

Q: I'm talking about 1972, '73, '74, '75 in that period.

DUNLAP: There was controversy among young officers certainly. As far as I remember, of course, I was sitting up at the top of the heap at that period, we were pretty fair about, well, we erred on the side of supporting the Administration. But I don't think that was evil or bad. I think we tried to support what we were trying to accomplish in Vietnam. And I know I view with great distaste the young officers, I guess they were State Department officers, who signed a thing like Luther's theses at Nuremberg that they were opposed to the war in Vietnam. I thought if they were they should have resigned and gotten out of their work. But I think we did fairly well. As a matter of fact, we normally did and probably do today quite well on these controversial matters which are very, very difficult to decide on by a government information operation.

Q: Right. Especially when you have the Voice of America whose obligation in part is to report the news as it happens, objectively, comprehensively, without any kind of a political direction to it.

DUNLAP: I should get in a comment here that has nothing to do with the paper you're doing. I think that the war in Vietnam — it was a war and I visited Vietnam seven times during that period — was lost in the universities and media in the United States. It wasn't lost in Vietnam. I felt very badly about the way that that turned out and I still do. They let down our allies and we lost a lot of human life. I still hesitate and I've not yet visited the wall because I felt so upset about this whole thing.

End of interview